1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

fingers when unhappy. Withheld emotionality is displayed when an injured child runs to a nearby parent. The usual response of the latter is to scold the youngster for his wild behavior and then to briskly dust his clothes. Any overtures of kindness and affection are readily responded to, however, and girls in particular never lose a responsiveness to caresses and bodily contacts by older siblings and other women.

The father, who has never been as demonstrative as the mother in his affectional handling of the infant, retains some of his more moderate warmth, and we have even observed instances of a father picking up a lap baby whose fretfulness went unnoticed by the mother. Thus when Richard Cross, five, hurt himself while playing he ran to his father, who lifted him and tried to distract him from crying by pointing out a horse across the river, murmuring: "Crying bad animal." Although the man's attention to young children is limited by his economic activities, several instances were noted of children, ranging from four to six, developing close attachments to their fathers, while the mothers were occupied with the care of younger siblings. Under such circumstances fathers often pack youngsters while traveling. Louis Mann once spoke of how, when Eleanor was four years old, he packed her on his back while climbing to the timberline to trap marten. In 1945 Loreen was his constant companion, trailing him all over Lower Post. Generally, however, such close attachment between father and child affords little satisfaction to the boy or girl other than the opportunity to remain in the parent's company. Physical contact between the two is always brief. In some cases dependence of the child on the father is continued into later childhood. While generally it is the boy who, beginning at about seven or eight, occasionally accompanies his father trapping and hunting, often daughters enter this relationship and, in thus carrying on their early emotional attachment to the father, learn skills which are usually expected to be transmitted to sons.

When, as frequently happens, the family through death is deprived of the presence of one or both parents, the process of emotional rejection becomes more severe. Over ten per cent of the children in Kaska society at the time of field work had lost either one or both parents. Emotional withdrawal is particularly strong in the case of adopted children and orphans who, although they may receive physical care from foster parents or grandparents, receive little emotional gratification. One exception to this statement was observed in the behavior of the Cross brothers' mother, who was raising the four year old son of her late daughter. The child was never seen separated from this very old lady who would sit with his head in her lap, murmur to him constantly, and devotedly keep flies and mosquitoes away from his face. This is extremely atypical behavior toward a child of that age.

Obviously the pattern of family relationships which has been described offers a child little opportunity for exhibitionism. However, sometimes the visits of relatives and friends temporarily transform the family into an audience ready to laugh and applaud the child's behavior. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which young children from four to six respond to such stimulation. Beyond that age, however, adult interest in children is slight and, as we shall see, when it appears is most often practical and educative.

If the child continues to live with both parents, the father is ideally regarded as the most important disciplinarian. Usually, however, it is the mother who actually punishes. The ideal aim of punishment is to make the child submissive to, or "scared" of, the parents. Such

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implements, going into the forest alone, leaving the house in cold temperatures, approaching the gunwales of boats, and venturing near river banks or too near a fire. Failure to heed such advice is punished by scolding or with threats tended to inspire fear. As children pass the age of five the river is no longer forbidden as a place to play nor are children prevented from handling scissors, knives, or axes (Plate 10, a). By that age they have learned to be careful of open fires and stoves and limit their activities to the main part of the community or winter settlement, never venturing into the bush alone.

Education. Most education for living is received by the child in the course of performing routine activities. Such education is unformalized and undirected. Our characterization above of the training of dogs reflects some of the features of the child's education. Instruction and direction are rarely explicit. "Do this," is the formula, and the child is left with the task of working out the details of an activity for himself. If the young girl is asked to make a fire and tries to light large pieces of wood without first splitting kindling, the task will be taken over by an adult. The child may then observe the correct sequences for the completion of the activity, but few people trouble to drill these into the learner. Sometimes generalized instructions are furnished to children who, in carrying these out, often become confused. Thus we observed one fourteen year old girl make tea by putting the leaves into cold water. Nobody referred to the muddy quality of the beverage. The same kind of teaching was used with the ethnographer. Activities were illustrated but never explained in detail, the exposition of principles being ignored. On the second day of a journey with dog team and toboggan, the handling of the vehicle was entrusted to the ethnographer without a word of instruction regarding the technique of managing the dogs. Meanwhile the guide walked on ahead, rapidly breaking trail, so that when the traces fouled and the dogs rebelled, he had to retrace almost an eighth of a mile. Another observation that is worthwhile making so far as education is concerned, deals with the relatively narrow range of stimulation available to children, particularly in winter, when youngsters lacking toys are confined to small cabins and rarely interact with parents.

The girl's education is derived from her household duties and begins quite early. From the age of six or seven, she hauls water and packs wood. A few years later she learns to cut and sew moccasins, often practicing with scraps of moosehide; tends the rabbit snares; cuts wood; washes clothes, and helps with simple cooking—all by following the examples of her mother or older sisters and with a minimum of verbal instruction. A young girl may at first rebel at economic chores and seek to shirk them, but by the time she is nine or ten years old the rebellion has almost totally disappeared and she is only anxious to complete her duties quickly so as to have free time available. Boys' education begins somewhat later, at the age of eight. Now they begin to accompany fathers or older brothers on short fishing, hunting, and trapping trips. The boy learns masculine skills by observing older men prepare snowshoe frames, hew lumber, or manufacture implements, vehicles, buildings, and tools. While the boy assists older men in these activities, by collecting firewood and handling tools, his real economic contribution begins much later than the girl's. Not until he is near puberty, does the boy begin to manufacture apparatus on his own or go out to hunt large game with an agemain.

As early as the age of three, a child begins to try using snowshoes. Such learning is

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868 gradual, but by six the child is already able to cover ten or more miles with these travel
[842] aids. Children begin to feel themselves at about three years of age.

No effort is made to give a child sex instruction, and since people rarely discuss sexual
864 topics, children are limited in the information which they may acquire about this subject. Sexual prohibitions are explained obliquely and with many euphemisms, so that the prevailing attitude toward sex as something highly personal and restricted cannot fail to be transmitted. On the other hand, some awareness of sexuality may be gained when a child listens in the mixed company of adolescents and unmarried young people, who engage in sexual teasing and sometimes make threats or references without regard for the presence of youngsters. Since parents and children sleep in the same dwelling room, it is likely that children are early exposed to sexual activities, the meaning of which is not explained. When adults are intoxicated there is also a relaxation of sexual taboos from which youngsters are not protected. A sense of modesty begins to be inculcated in the child when he is three or four
[863] years old, and children of that age will not urinate or defecate in the presence of other people. Now the mother also warns a child of any indecent exposure in a public place.

866 Some effort is indirectly or directly made to inculcate endurance to pain, fatigue, and cold. Young children of five and six are often required to walk up to fifteen miles with parents who are bound for a trap line or hunting place. Minor ailments are seldom regarded as an excuse for delaying such journeys. In winter some parents directly advise an older child not to try to keep his hands warm all the time but to get used to having the fingers "half frozen." In that way, it is explained, they will become better able to withstand cold. Children are also warned of the dangers present in the environment when the temperature is very low; for example they are taught that in such temperatures the bare fingers or mouth must never touch metal.

872 With regard to formal education, most of the parents are ready to send their children to summer mission school and, at least in early years, try to insist on such attendance. Schooling is not valued for opportunities which it opens for the child, but rather for the advantages it offers parents. Commenting on his grandson's education, River Joe expressed this attitude when he said: "Me boss that kid . . . I raise him. Learn something, be good for me that way." The school in Lower Post follows a leisurely program of instruction. Counting and reading occupy a fractional place in the curriculum, which also attempts to teach religion, values of cleanliness and hard work, and even includes the teaching of French and English folksongs.

In 1945 the mission, in conjunction with the Indian Affairs Branch, sent eight children ranging from five to twelve years old to a Catholic boarding school at Grouard, Alberta, 700 miles south of Lower Post. Here they will receive two years of education. Heretofore such outside education has been limited to one or two youths going to the mission boarding school at Lejac, on the Pacific Coast.[9] The value of such short term education is, of course, limited. Richard Day and Harry Lang, who were both educated in boarding schools, are capable of simple writing with poor spelling. In Harry, education also contributed to some dissatisfaction with the limited stimulation of Lower Post.

857 Many young children, from four to eight, express relatively little animation or spon-

[9] The school was built with Government funds and is taught by nuns. See Carroll, *The Vicariate of Prince Rupert* (1946), 10-19.

§61 taught their girls and the maternal uncles were chief
[§59] instructors of boys. Some fathers, however, did considerable teaching of their sons. However, very little serious teaching was done until children reached the age of puberty.

The father, mother, and uncles sometimes lectured the children on behaviour, etc., and gave them information generally in answer to questions. Mythological and other stories were frequently told to children. Children were rarely thrashed and were not
[§55] scolded excepting sometimes by the mother; parents were very considerate and lenient to their offspring.
§57 Children spent much of their time playing together and amusing themselves as children do in all lands, and little restraint was exercised by their elders. Girls generally played only with girls and boys with boys.

§57 They commenced to work at an early age, how-
●§48 ever, and with increasing years, they played less and worked more. Little girls helped their mothers in many ways by looking after the younger children and doing errands etc. Boys learned shooting, snaring small game and carrying of burdens etc., at a very early age. Little lads of ten and twelve years often accompanied their fathers or uncles on short hunting trips and worked as hard as their ability and strength allowed.
§55 Parents were very fond of their children and bore

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ended her lodge was so close to the camp it almost formed a part of same. As soon as the girl was isolated, her mother, aunt or some elderly relative took charge of her and became her attendant and instructor. The girl was dried in a blanket of dressed smoked skin, which covered her almost down to her feet. The upper part reached above her head over which it was drawn so as to extend beyond her face on both sides. Some of these robes had the upper part extend into a robe hood which covered her head and extended forward about two feet beyond her face, protecting her easily on each side. The robe was held in place by a leather belt around the waist. She used the eagle bone part of the robe to hide her face when she was aware of anything being near which should not see her face or which she herself should not see. It was believed her glances were harmful to some and to game etc. She should not see her face nor be seen by her. For this reason all males, including her nearest relatives, kept away from her for several months and she kept out of their sight. Only females were allowed to visit her. Female relatives and neighboring women sometimes came to chat with her and give her instruction. They continued to visit her during the whole time of her isolation. During this period the girl had to learn something of all the work and duties which would devolve on her in future years.

She had to organize herself with care, as much as possible, partner herself to all kinds of women's work. This she then under the guidance of her attendant and the women who visited her from time to time. Her work was examined and criticized by these women, who also reviewed her progress and always encouraged her to persevere and to better. Thus she commenced to do all kinds of sewing and embroidery, to make crossstitch, do carving, fill canvasses, etc. It was considered right that she should be industrious at this period as she would be after years have this virtue. Therefore, /to order/ that she be kept busy, and to secure sufficient practice, many women brought canvasses for her to make or to mend, and sewing to do for them. She had to finish properly all the work brought to her and received no payment of any kind for her work. The girl had to work diligently at sewing rotes, circles and all kinds of things made by women, and thus also learned all kinds of sewing, stepping, and sewing. This had to keep out of sight of people generally and was to persevere and therefore spent by far the greater part of their time in their lodges. Girls were no small tasks, but full rags of leather were used by them. Of late years these have been made of cut or blue cloth. Scraps of colored skin embroidery bibs have more used. Each girl used a breathing tube and exercises of bone suspended around the

D. Georgeson D-8(1943-1945):934 NDIS Distance NDIS
Upper Liard
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[illegible] 948 ●
[illegible] 89✓

Dress Shoe Fabric. To adorn, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft hands to prevent [illegible] 943
[illegible] 944
[illegible] 946

Fabric Ornamented Quill Cross and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians [illegible] 945
[illegible] 947

Women Holding Infants and Boys. On journeys, when a child began [illegible] 953
[illegible] 953

Dolls Games Associated Together. Children beyond the age of five who [illegible] 961
[illegible] 957

ADOLESCENCE

Kaska Adult Duties. Coinciding with the vision quest, which is a mean marked the [illegible] 983
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